

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NEWS FROM NOWHERE:

OR,

AN EPOCH OF REST.

BEING SOME CHAPTERS FROM A UTOPIAN ROMANCE.

CHAP. XI.—CONCERNING GOVERNMENT.

"Now," said I, "I have come to the point of asking questions which I suppose will be dry for you to answer and difficult for you to explain; but I have foreseen for some time past that I must ask them, will I 'nill I. What kind of a government have you? Has republicanism finally triumphed? or have you come to a mere dictatorship, which some persons in the nineteenth century used to prophesy as the ultimate outcome of democracy? Indeed, this last question does not seem so very unreasonable, since you have turned your Parliament House into a dung-market. Or where do you house your present Parliament?"

The old man answered my smile with a hearty laugh, and said: "Well, well, dung is not the worst kind of corruption; fertility may come of that, whereas mere dearth came from the other kind, of which those walls once held the great supporters. Now, dear guest, let me tell you that our present parliament would be hard to house in one place, because the whole people is our parliament."

"I don't understand," said I.

"No, I suppose not," said he. "I must now shock you by telling you that we have no longer anything which you, a native of another planet, would call a government."

"I am not so much shocked as you might think," said I, "as I know something about governments. But tell me how do you manage, and how have you come to this state of things?"

Said he: "It is true that we have to make some arrangements about our affairs, concerning which you can ask presently; and it is also true that everybody does not always agree with the details of these arrangements; but, further, it is true that a man no more needs an elaborate system of government, with its army, navy, and police, to force him to give way to the will of the majority of his equals, than he wants a similar machinery to make him understand that his head and a stone wall cannot occupy the same space at the same moment. Do you want further explanation?"

"Well, yes, I do," quoth I.

Old Hammond settled himself in his chair with a look of enjoyment which rather alarmed me, and made me dread a scientific disquisition: so I sighed and abided. He said:

"I suppose you know pretty well what the process of government was in the bad old times?"

"I am supposed to know," said I.

(Hammond) What was the government of those days? Was it really the Parliament or any part of it?

(I) No.

(H.) Was not the Parliament on the one side a kind of watch-committee sitting to see that the interests of the Upper Classes took no hurt; and on the other side a sort of blind to delude the people into supposing that they had some share in the management of their own affairs?

(I) History seems to show us this.

(H.) To what extent did the people manage their own affairs?

(I) I judge from what I have heard that sometimes they forced the Parliament to make a law to legalise some alteration which had already taken place.

(H.) Anything else?

(I) I think not. As I am informed, if the people made any attempt to deal with the *cause* of their grievances the law stepped in and said, this is sedition, revolt, or what not, and slew or tortured the ringleaders of such attempts.

(H.) If Parliament was not the government then, nor the people either, what was the government?

(I) Can you tell me?

(H.) I think we shall not be far wrong if we say that government was the Law-Courts, backed up by the executive, which handled the brute force that the deluded people allowed them to use for their own purposes; I mean the army, navy, and police.

(I) Reasonable men must needs think you are right.

(H.) Now as to those Law-Courts. Were they places of fair dealing according to the ideas of the day? Had a poor man a good chance of defending his property and person in them?

(I) It is a commonplace that even rich men looked upon a law-suit as a dire misfortune, even if they gained the case; and as for a poor one—why, it was considered a miracle of justice and beneficence if a poor man who had once got into the clutches of the law escaped prison or utter ruin.

(H.) It seems, then, my son, that the government by law-courts and police, which was the real government of the nineteenth century, was not a great success even to the people of that day, living under a class system which proclaimed inequality and poverty as the law of God and the bond which held the world together.

(I) So it seems, indeed.

(H.) And now that all this is changed, and the "rights of property," which mean the clenching the fist on a piece of goods and crying out to the neighbours, You shan't have this!—now that all this has disappeared, so utterly that it is no longer possible even to jest upon its absurdity, is such a Government possible?

(I) It is impossible.

(H.) Yes, happily. But for what other purpose than the protection of the rich from the poor, the strong from the weak, did this Government exist?

(I) I have heard that it was said that their office was to defend their own citizens against attack from other countries.

(H.) It was said; but was anyone expected to believe this? For instance, did the English Government defend the English citizen against the French?

(I) So it was said.

(H.) Then if the French had invaded England and conquered it, they would not have allowed the English workmen to live well?

(I, laughing) As far as I can make out, the English masters of the English workmen saw to that: they took from their workmen as much of their livelihood as they dared, because they wanted it for themselves.

(H.) But if the French had conquered, would they not have taken more still from the English workmen?

(I) I do not think so; for in that case the English workmen would have died of starvation; and then the French conquest would have ruined the French, just as if the English horses and cattle had died of underfeeding. So that after all, the English workmen would have been no worse off for the conquest: their French masters could have got no more from them than their English masters did.

(H.) This is true; and we may admit that the pretensions of the government to defend the poor (*i.e.*, the useful) people against other countries come to nothing. But that is but natural; for we have seen already that it was the function of government to protect the rich against the poor. But did not the government defend its rich men against other nations?

(I) I do not remember to have heard that the rich needed defence; because it is said that even when two nations were at war, the rich men of each nation gambled with each other pretty much as usual, and even sold each other weapons wherewith to kill their own countrymen.

(H.) In short, it comes to this, that whereas the so-called government of protection of property by means of the law-courts meant destruction of wealth, this defence of the citizens of one country against those of another country by means of war or the threat of war meant pretty much the same thing.

(I) I cannot deny it.

(H.) Therefore the government really existed for the destruction of wealth?

(I) So it seems. And yet—

(H.) Yet what?

(I) There were many rich people in those times.

(H.) You see the consequences of that fact?

(I) I think I do. But tell me out what they were.

(H.) If the government habitually destroyed wealth, the country must have been poor?

(I) Yes, certainly.

(H.) Yet amidst this poverty the persons for the sake of whom the government existed insisted on being rich whatever might happen?

(I) So it was.

(H.) What *must* happen if in a poor country some people insist on being rich at the expense of the others?

(I) Unutterable poverty for the others. All this misery, then, was caused by the destructive government of which we have been speaking!

(H.) Nay, it would be incorrect to say so. The government itself was but the necessary result of the careless, aimless tyranny of the times; it was but the machinery of tyranny. Now tyranny has come to an end, and we no longer need such machinery; we could not possibly use it since we are free. Therefore in your sense of the word we have no government. Do you understand this now?

(I) Yes, I do. But I will ask you some more questions as to how you as free men manage your affairs.

(H.) With all my heart. Ask away.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

(This Story began in No. 209, January 11, 1890. Sets of Back Numbers can still be had.)

PRIMITIVE COMMUNISM.¹

I.

"THE man who first enclosed a piece of land and said, *this is mine*, and found people simple enough to believe him, was the real founder of civil society," runs the much discussed phrase of the *Discours sur l'inégalité*. Rousseau, therefore, supposes that formerly land was held in common; Hobbes, who, in England and France has exerted so powerful an influence on the formation of modern ideas had previously made the same supposition.

"Nature hath given to each of us an equal right to all things," says Hobbes in *De Cive*. "In a state of nature every man has a right to do and to take whatsoever he pleases, whence the common saying that Nature has given all things to all men, and whence it follows that in a state of nature utility is the rule of right."

This quotation will show Mr. Huxley that Rousseau cannot be charged with having reintroduced into Europe the "State of Nature" of the Greek stoics, whose philosophical doctrine was a protest against the social condition of the age.

The primitive communism of Hobbes and Rousseau was a mental conviction which, probably, they could not have based on any fact duly established. Mr. Huxley, who is not to be put off with mental convictions, exclaims: "The confident assertions that the land was originally held in common by the whole nation are singularly ill-founded." And with equal confidence he asserts that: "Land was held as private or several property, and not as the property of the public or general body of the nation."

Let us see which of the two, the "ignorant" Rousseau or the learned Professor, is in the right; and, in order to that, we must address ourselves to the men who have been in contact with savages and barbarians.

Mr. Huxley, doubtless, has in his library the *De Bello Gallico*. Let him open it at Book VI. § 22, and he will read: "No German possesses enclosed fields of any extent, but the magistrates and the chief distribute the fields to the clans and families who live in common, and the year following compel them to go and settle elsewhere." One of the objects of this custom was "to uphold in the people the sense of equality, since every man sees his resources equal to those of the most powerful." It follows that amongst the Germans known to Cæsar the land was the common property of the entire nation. Elphinstone observed among the Afghan tribes, whom he had to combat, the same mode of possession of the land by the nation at large, and its periodical distribution among the clans and families composing the nation.² Wherever one has been able to go back to the origin, one has met with common property in land.

Morgan in his last and remarkable work on *The Houses and House Life of the American Aborigines* (1881), has collected a large number of examples of this primitive communism. He reproduces the following curious passage by the celebrated Moravian missionary, Heckewelder, who lived with the Indians from 1771 to 1786, and understood their languages:—"The Indians think that the Great Spirit has made the earth, and all that it contains, for the common good of mankind; when he stocked the country and gave them plenty of game, it was not for the good of a few, but of all. Everything is given in common to the sons of men. Whatever liveth on the land, whatever groweth out of the earth, and all that is in the rivers and waters, was given jointly to all, and every one is entitled to his share. Hospitality with them is not a virtue, but a strict duty. . . . They would lie down on an empty stomach rather than have it laid to their charge that they had neglected their duty by not satisfying the wants of the stranger, the sick or the needy. . . . because they have a common right to be helped out of the common stock; for if the meat they have been served with was taken from the wood, it was common to all before the hunter took it: if corn and vegetables, it had grown out of the common ground, yet not by the power of man, but by that of the Great Spirit."

G. Catlin who during eight years journeyed among the savage tribes of North America, relates that "every man, woman, or child in Indian

communities is allowed to enter any one's lodge, and even that of the chief of the nation, and eat when they are hungry. . . . Even so can the poorest and most worthless drop of the nation, if he is too lazy to supply himself or to hunt, he can walk into any lodge, and every one will share with him as long as there is anything to eat. He, however, who thus begs when he is able to hunt pays dear for his meat, for he is stigmatized with the disgraceful epithet of poltroon or beggar." These communistic practices, which were once general, were maintained in Lacedæmonia long after the Spartans had issued out of barbarism.

Morgan, who has specially studied the customs of the Iroquois, among whom he dwelt, tells us that they cultivated their fields in common and divided the crops, the game, and fish among the families of the clans. Frequently the division was made per every female head; but the provisions were only, so to speak, given them in keeping, for they were always at the disposal of the community.

The facts collected and related by Cæsar, Elphinstone and Morgan, whose intelligence and powers of observation nobody will think of disputing, confirm the supposition of Rousseau and of Hobbes, which Professor Huxley ridicules in so superior a way. The land has been held in common by the familiar clans of savage nations, and each and all had a right to the provisions, as long as they lasted, procured by the common labour of all the clans.

II.

The primitive communism of the land and its produce established perfect social and political equality among all the members of a nation. The war-chief, on returning to his village loses his power: "he is obeyed by no children save his own," says Volney, and the authority possessed by the magistrate is a purely moral one; chiefs and magistrates were elected by universal suffrage. The woman frequently took a part in the vote, and in deliberations of the council. "The Germans," says Tacitus, "attributed a sacred and prophetic character to them—*sanctum aliquid et providum*." But it was in the distribution of the food at meals that this equality manifested itself. The men and women ate apart. Every Iroquois received from the kettle his portion in a wooden bowl, and as there were neither chairs nor tables in their *long houses*, he ate his food where he pleased. The women and children took their meals after them. The *syssities*, the common repasts of Greece, are simply a reproduction of those of the Iroquois described by Morgan.

Heraclides of Pontus, the disciple of Plato, has preserved for us a description of the communistic repasts of Creta, where the primitive manners prevailed during a long period of time. At the *andreies* (repasts of men) every adult citizen received an equal share, except the *Archon*, member of the council of the ancients (*gerontia*), who received a fourfold portion—one in his quality of simple citizen, another in that of president of the table, and two additional portions for the care of the hall and furniture. All the tables were under the supervision of a matriarch, who distributed the food and ostensibly set aside the choicest bits for the men who had distinguished themselves in the council or on the battlefield. Strangers were served first, even before the archon. A vessel with wine and water was handed round from guest to guest; at the end of the repast it was replenished. Heraclides mentions common repasts of the men only, but Hoeck assumes that in the Dorian cities there were also repasts of women and children. Our knowledge of the constant separation of the sexes among savages and barbarians renders probable the assumption of the learned historian of Creta. Plutarch informs us that at these common repasts no one person was considered as superior to the other, wherefore he styles them aristocratic assemblies (*sunedria aristokratika*). The persons who sat down at the same table were probably members of the same family. In Sparta the members of a *syssitia* were formed into corresponding military divisions, and fought together. Savages and barbarians, accustomed at all times to act in common, in battle always range themselves according to families, clans and tribes.

It was of such imperative necessity that every member of the clan should get his share of the aliments, that in the Greek language the word *moira*, which signifies the portion of a guest at a repast, came to signify Destiny, the supreme Goddess to whom men and gods are alike submitted and who deals out to everyone his portion of existence, just as the matriarch of the Cretan *syssitia* apportions to each guest his share of food. It should be remarked that in Greek mythology Destiny is personified by women—*Moira*, *Aissa*, and the *Keres*—and that their names signify the portion to which each person is entitled in the division of victuals or spoils.

Primitive Communism, when all men have equal shares, so profoundly implants the sentiment of equality in the breast of the savage, that he cannot conceive that a member of his tribe should be better treated than himself in any way. Darwin relates that having given to a Fuegian savage a woollen blanket, whose qualities he appeared to appreciate, he was surprised to see him tear up the same into strips of equal length and breadth and distribute them to his comrades. The Fuegian was no doubt prompted to this action, which appeared absurd, by a desire to satisfy his own and his companions' sentiment of equality.

In any case, men proceeded after an analogous fashion when they first divided the land. The savage, not knowing how to measure surfaces, divided the fields into narrow strips of equal length and breadth [the agrarian measure of the primitive Romans, the *actus simplex*, was 120 feet long by 4 wide]. The most difficult part of the operation, on account of the irregularities of the ground, consisted in obtaining a straight line, limiting these strips of land of rectangular shape. The straight line alone could satisfy him, and so powerfully was he impressed thereby that the straight line ultimately became the symbol of what was Just; in the same way that the

¹ Condensed from an article entitled "*Rousseau et l'Égalité* response au Professeur Huxley" in the *Nouvelle Revue* of March 15, and there signed *Fergus*.

² *Mountstuart Elphinstone. An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul. 1837. Vol. II., pp. 14 to 22.*

matriarch who distributed the portions at the Greek syssities came to personify Destiny. In the European languages, and probably in the languages of all the peoples who have arrived at collective and private property, one and the same word serves to designate what is in a straight line and what is Just—Right.

It was an inspiration of genius that led Rousseau to declare "the first man who, having enclosed a piece of ground, bethought him of saying, *this is mine*, was the real founder of civil society." Rare, indeed, are the thinkers whose piercing insight has enabled them to penetrate so far into the obscure past.

Men lived in society prior to the constitution of property; but it is from the time of the division of the common lands into familiar or collective, and subsequently into, private, property, that customs were consolidated and converted into civil laws. The Greek genius made of Demeter, the antique goddess of the Earth, the goddess of Agriculture and Law. As the earliest division of land occurred amongst the men not yet differentiated by social inequalities, they must have been presided over by a perfect spirit of equality; and this spirit recurs in the primitive customs and savage and barbarous laws regulating these divisions. Hence when Aristotle sought for the origin of the political constitution, he found it in Equality. "The city," he says, "is simply an association of beings who are equal and seek in common a happy and easy life. The state being an association of equal beings . . . it is just that the share of power and obedience allotted to each be perfectly equal; it is precisely this that the law secures." (*Politics*. Book IV. ch. vii. § 2; and Book III. ch. xi. §§ 2 & 3; French edition, St. Hilaire, 1848.) The legists of the Antonine era proclaimed this equality in the origin of societies when they formulated their judicial axiom: *Omnes homines natura equales sunt*.¹ (Nature hath made all men equal.)

It is only in the course of historic development that the association of equals introduced into their community artisans, slaves and serfs, and that the equals began to differ from one another in consequence, first, of the inequality of their possessions; and afterwards, of the inequality of their political rights and duties.

The inequality which Professor Huxley proclaims an absolute principle is a phenomenon of the development of history, and susceptible, therefore, of evolution in one sense or the other; certain economic conditions, such as slavery, magnify it, others tend to lessen it. In our society the hazards of speculation, and of industrial and commercial competition, overthrow the most solid fortunes and level all social positions. Voltaire, who had been impressed by this characteristic feature of modern society, wrote humorously: "People have exaggerated social inequality. Everybody, at the bottom of his heart, is justified in considering himself as the equal of other men: it does not follow that the cook of a Cardinal may order his master to cook his dinner for him. The cook may say: 'I am as good a man as my master, and like him came into the world crying; we both of us perform the same animal functions. If the Turks take Rome, and if I turn cardinal, and my master becomes a cook, I will take him into my service.' The whole of this speech is just and reasonable, but as long as the Great Turk has not got hold of Rome, the cook must do his duty, or all human society is perverted." Commercial failures and stock exchange swindlings take the place of the Great Turk.

The tendency to equality is one of the forces in the evolution of modern society; it has already imposed universal suffrage—one of the Professor's bugbears—which establishes political equality in law, if not in fact. Economical equality will follow in good time.

Mr. Huxley charges Rousseau with ignorance. It is true that this son of a clockmaker, with but scant means of acquiring knowledge in the course of a sickly, needy, and chequered existence, was often enough constrained to make up for his want of knowledge by the imaginative and inductive power of his genius. But what shall we say of the learned professor, who, with every means of instruction, and with ample leisure at his command, treats with such confident assurance of the manners and customs of primitive societies, only just beginning to be studied in Rousseau's time, and who would seem to ignore the works of Morgan and Bachofen?

PAUL LAFARGUE.

STRIKE OF CARPENTERS AT CHICAGO.—Between five and six thousand carpenters of Chicago are out on strike. They demand an eight hours day, and forty cents. (1s. 8d.) per hour. The present rate of pay is thirty-five cents, an hour, and they work ten hours a day. Building operations are practically suspended throughout the city.

REVOLUTIONARY PREACHING.—It is quite time that all the struggling nationalities should clearly understand that freemen have no sympathy with men who do nothing but howl and shriek in their fetters. Liberty is a serious game to be played out, as the Greek told the Persian, with knives and hatchets, and not with drawled epigrams and soft petitions. We may prate among us of moral courage and moral force, but we have also physical courage and physical force kept ready for use.—*Times*.

A ONE-SIDED GAME.—A Man with a Shot-gun said to a Bird: "It is all nonsense, you know, about shooting being a cruel sport. I put my skill against your cunning—that is all there is of it. It is a fair game." "True," said the Bird, "but I don't wish to play." "Why not?" enquired the Man with a Shot-gun. "The game," the Bird replied, "is fair, as you say; but the chances are about even; but consider the stake. I am in it for you, but what is there in it for me?" Not being prepared with an answer to the question, the Man with a Shot-gun sagaciously removed the propounder. There is a moral in this somewhere when you come to think of it.

¹ The Spartans possessing full rights of citizenship were called *oi omoioi*—the equals. All those who had lost their lands and could not contribute towards the expenses of the syssities, were deprived of their rights and were classed, like the artisans, among the *upoioioi*—the inferiors. The *omoi* were the ruling class, and filled all public offices with the exception of the Ephoralty.

DON QUIXOTE.

(By EUGENE POTTIER. Translated by LAURA LAFARGUE.)

MEETING a chain of galley-slaves,
Spain's hero, that all danger braves,
Don Quixote brandisheth his spear!
Sancho Panza quakes with fear!
The mad don makes the guards to flee
And sets the shackled prisoners free.
"Sir Knight," quoth Sancho, "spare your pains,
And leave the galley-slave his chains!"

"Brother Sancho, my duty I do,
This labourer is a convict too,
For battered tools the workers be,
Handled by a vile salary;
Flung by their bowel-less master, gold,
To the lumber-heap when broken and old."
"Sir Knight," quoth Sancho, "spare your pains,
And leave the galley-slave his chains!"

"Sancho, set free and save I must
This boy-convict from college-dust,
This dunce on musty learning fed
That pedants cram into his head,
Whose mind, with ne'er a free out-look,
Is but an ink-stained copy-book."
"Sir Knight," quoth Sancho, "spare your pains,
And leave the galley-slave his chains!"

"Ho! from the barracks come thou forth,
Thou soldier-slave of little worth!
A cartridge-box thou hast for brains,
A blunderbuss for conscience reigns.
Thou to a cannibal's trade art sold,
And art cast in a bullet-mould!"
"Sir Knight," quoth Sancho, "spare your pains,
And leave the galley-slave his chains!"

"Thou convict of the sacristy,
Throw off the cowl that stifles thee!
The cloister-walls in thee have bred
The mildew of a faith long dead,
Despite the war that sick Rome wages
For the scrofulous Middle Ages."
"Sir Knight," quoth Sancho, "spare your pains,
And leave the galley-slave his chains!"

"Arise, unhappy woman, thou,
Peerless Dulcinea, that, laid low,
Dost languish in the giants' hands
And miscreant enchanters' bands!
The law that wrongs thee, heeds thee not,
Follow thy heart and choose thy lot."
"Sir Knight," quoth Sancho, "spare your pains,
And leave the galley-slave his chains!"

O flower of chivalry!
Then said I in my reverie,
Confront these giants dire,
Despite thy catiff squire;
For till thy sword shall set us free,
And end this human tragedy,
Will Sancho say: "Best spare your pains,
And leave the galley-slave his chains!"

If fools went not to market bad wares would not be sold.
He that kills himself with working must be buried under the gallows.
The Michigan Labour Bureau shows that Detroit furniture-workers don't average 1 dollar a-day.
New York bricklayers have agreed to work the nine-hour day, and the pay will be 4 dols. 50 cents.
The *Bible Echo*, a pious paper, and the freethought *Liberator* are both printed at rat offices in Melbourne. Extremes meet.
Hundreds of miners in the Lackawanna Valley (Pa.) didn't make 8 dollars in February. One man was paid 2 cents for the month.
You may fool all the people part of the time, part of the people all of the time, but you can't fool all of the people all of the time.—*Lincoln*.
The labour question resolves itself into this: Shall the efforts of mankind be directed to the amassing of fortunes, or to the building up of true manhood and womanhood?—*Knights of Labour Journal*.
At Deepwater (Mo.) a reduction from 1 dollar to 75 cents for first-class coal per ton has been forced upon the miners. For second-class they receive only 25 cents per ton. Things are almost at starvation point, and there are crowds of idle men.
The shearers' strike on Meteor Downs, Queensland, is not settled (Feb. 15) the manager refusing to pay union rates to the labourers. The shearers' labourers and permanent station hands have gone out to a man, and are camped nine miles from Springsure.
Those Southern Congressmen who cannot endure to sit at table with a coloured man are not at all to be endorsed on the grounds of reason or of Christianity, and yet candour compels one to admit that the North is not at all in a position to cast stones at them upon the subject.—*Boston Herald*.
A Charters Tower paper says that "every sane man must know that the distinction between *Radical* and *Republican* is very wide." Not so wide, after all; the former includes the latter. A Republican is not necessarily a Radical, but a true Radical is of necessity a Republican, if he be not a Socialist.—*Sydney Bulletin*.
The New York shirt-makers on strike have joined hands with the cloak-makers also on strike, and will now fight for shorter hours and more pay together. Seven of the largest shirt contractors have conceded the terms of the men, and the smaller ones are expected to follow suit. The pants-makers are also making a demand for ten hours a-day and the privilege of forming a union.



OFFICES: 24 GREAT QUEEN STREET, LONDON, W.C.

HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW? FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

THE COMMONWEAL is the official organ of the Socialist League; but, unless definitely so announced by the Editors, no article is to be taken as expressing in more than a general way the views of the League as a body. In accordance with the Manifesto and Statement of Principles of the League, the COMMONWEAL is an exponent of International Revolutionary Socialism. On minor differences of opinion the widest freedom of discussion is maintained. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to their position in the paper.

Articles and letters dealing with any phase of the social problem are invited and will meet with earnest consideration. They must be written on one side of the paper only, and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope accompanies them.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

SOCIALIST ARTIST.—Thanks for note and enclosure. We are always glad to have sketches, etc., but if for reproduction in the paper, they must be in strong line and as nearly as may be in outline.

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Brotherhood	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Arbeiterstimme
Freedom	Cincinnati (O.) Volks-Anwalt	ITALY
Labour Elector	Philadelphia—United Labour	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Seafaring	Paterson Labour Standard	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Unity	S.F. Coast Seamen's Journal	SPAIN
Worker's Friend	San Francisco Arbeiterzeitung	Madrid—El Socialista
NEW SOUTH WALES	Pacific Union	Barcelona—El Productor
Sydney—Bulletin	Los Angeles Cal. Nationalist	GERMANY
Hamilton—Radical	FRANCE	Berlin—Volks Tribune
INDIA	Paris—La Revolté	AUSTRIA
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Paris—Bourse du Travail	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
UNITED STATES	Le Proletariat	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
New York—Der Sozialist	Charleville—L'Emancipation	DENMARK
New York—Truthseeker	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Copenhagen—Arbejderen
Prædit	Rouen—Le Salarial	Social-Demokraten
Twentieth Century	HOLLAND	SWEDEN
United Irishman	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Volkzeitung	Anarchist	WEST INDIES
Workmen's Advocate	BELOIUM	Cuba—El Productor
Boston—Woman's Journal	Antwerp—De Werker	
Investigator	Ghent—Vooruit	
Nationalist	La Societe Nouvelle	

NOTES ON NEWS.

I SUPPOSE it is natural that after each wretched little by-election there should be a howl of triumph from one of the political parties, and of rage from the other, together with all kinds of arguments and explanations as to the meaning or non-meaning of the victory or defeat. In the case of Windsor this has been quite as marked as usual and even more ridiculous. It is understandable among the great parties of Ins and Outs, but what more interest it can have for workmen than a dog-fight is difficult to see. Whichever way the fight goes makes no difference to them; they are robbed all the same. Yet to see how excited workmen in London got while the result of Windsor was doubtful! As though in some unexplained way their fate was bound up in that of one of the two much-about-the-same and very respectable gentlemen who sought the suffrages of that very insignificant and corrupt nest of snobbery and toadyism—the "Royal Borough."

The Tzar has "fallen ill" it seems; four or five times over has the report been "confirmed" and "contradicted," so there must be something in it. Does it mean that another attempt at executing him has nearly succeeded? Or is it only the rage and fear and worry caused by all the troubles that he sees rising round him or threatening in the near future? One thing seems assured, however, which is, that whether this miserable tyrant meets a deserved fate or no, a great outburst of rage and sorrow, overlong repressed, is coming in Russia, before which everything that has taken place since the French Revolution will seem small. And in all countries the hatred grows against the man and the system that sends so many thousands to their Siberian hell. Thirty-five years ago the same feeling put an enthusiasm behind the Crimean war, which led all, or nearly all, our Republican predecessors to seem ardent "patriots" for the time being.

Not that they were really "patriotic" or Jingo, but they hated despotism so much that they hailed with joy the chance of bringing the "Colossus of the North" to his knees. Was it not their chance of bringing about the destruction of that great stronghold of tyranny, that storehouse of reaction, the Russian Empire. They did not reflect that the "constitutional" governments of England and Italy, being monarchies at all, must have a sneaking regard for even an autocratic monarchy, and would be sure to stop short of so smashing it as to make a republic inevitable; while Badinguet was only taking part in the fight so as to get himself recognised as being on equal terms with any other of the potentates of Europe. So that whatever happened there was no probability and little possibility of any republican hopes being realised.

Nor would there be now; yet, if war against Russia were to break out, the warm hopes of all of us would go on the side of her enemy. For who knows how many prison doors some shattering reverse of her arms might not open? even, it may be, giving a chance for a Siberian revolt, that would for ever end the myriad horrors of that hell upon earth.

But it looks now as though the rising would not wait for 'war, but would begin right off. If it does, there will be little chance of giving aid from outside. But one thing can and will be done, if any other government were to go to the aid of the Russian in repelling the arisen people, it would have to be attacked at home, and given enough to do to occupy its attention for the time being.

An artist friend writes to us as follows:

"The Royal Academy was instituted to enable very poor artists to expose their pictures for sale, and so bring their name and works before the public, by that means doing away with the cruel blackmail of the picture dealer. Now it is an aristocratic Tory club. A poor artist could sooner get through the eye of the proverbial needle than into it. Give us poor artists a word of hope and you will gain many hundreds of believers, as each studio is a little world in itself."

We do not quite see how the Royal Academy can be other than it is under present conditions. Bourgeois society moulds everything after its own image, and what is the Academy or art itself that they should escape? The only word of hope we have for artists is the same that we have for any one else.

All the same, it is not easy to refrain from damning the Academy up hill and down dale for the worst collection of snobs, flunkys, and self-seekers that the world has yet seen. The way in which they shut out men of any independence until they are either strong enough to force their way in or weak enough to become "respectable," should make young or poor artists see that there is nothing to be hoped from these monopolists except for those who toady them. But the young or poor artists have their remedy—combination—if they like to employ it; though, if the truth be said, the majority of artists are like the majority of anybody else nowadays, snobs potential if not snobs actual.

Is there going to be a protest made in the name of English labour against the glorification of "the Christian pioneer," as suggested by a writer in our last issue? Where is the Metropolitan Radical Federation? Will they take it up? All the Radicals and Socialists of London would turn out against the representative of the worst form of "imperial" piracy, and the Irish would join to a man against the English policy of grab which is behind him. S.

Murder at Knutsford! dreadful murder! Dreadful enough this time, certainly; only it has been committed practically by the British nation, and therefore does not shock the moral sense of comfortable easy-going people, who think, probably, that it does not much matter to them, since they are never likely to come into the clutches of the Judge and the Home Secretary. But to those who have learned to feel the burden of collective responsibility, these legal murders are far worse than any of those homicides caused by passion or misery, which our lawyer-rulers put side by side with the calculated commercial slayings of such men as Palmer. The peculiar baseness of Matthew's "compromise" in this case is in fact swallowed up by the shame which a person, not absolutely stupefied by the cowardly convention of a "society" founded on wrong-doing, feels at such murders as those authorised by law at Knutsford and Worcester. The only immediate practical remedy for such horrors is that the juries should in such cases return no more than a verdict of manslaughter.

THE TACTICS OF ANTI-SOCIALISTS.

THE lectures on Socialism which Professor Flint delivered some years ago in Edinburgh, and which were made the subject of a few critical remarks in these columns at the time, are being published in *Good Words*. The opening paper, which appears in the March number, deals with the definition of Socialism and is a rather puzzling production.

Although it is admitted by the author in his first paragraph that there are some good and true elements in Socialism, the definition he gives a few lines further on does not help us to see what these are. He defines Socialism as "any theory of social organisation which sacrifices the legitimate liberty of individuals to the will and interests of the community"! What he understands by this is made but little clearer by his statement, that he uses the word "Socialism" to denote only social doctrines or proposals which he thinks he may safely undertake to prove require such a sacrifice of the individual to society as society is not entitled to exact. His definition, he cordially but rather unnecessarily remarks, will not commend itself to Socialists. A definition to satisfy both Socialists and their opponents he even deems it unreasonable to ask for, since "the whole controversy has for end to determine whether the relevant facts—the doctrines, proposals, and practices of what avows itself to be and is generally called Socialism—warrant its being defined as something essentially good or as something essentially bad," and since "the adherents and the opponents of Socialism must necessarily define it in contrary ways."

But is that which he mentions, as having to be attained by means of the controversy, in its nature a definition? Is it not rather a judgment as to the morality and expediency of Socialism! And therefore, should not this judgment, or "definition"—to use the word in the Flintian sense—find its proper place at the end of the articles, rather than at the beginning?

What is required at the outset of such a discussion is agreement as to what "the doctrines, proposals, and practices" are. And what these are can be easily ascertained from the writings and teachings of those who are recognised by Socialists as the exponents of their views. This information obtained, the arguments for and against the acceptance of them have then to be considered. It is, of course, convenient for our opponents to urge that among Socialists the differences of opinion are so great as to make it almost impossible to discover the principles they hold in common. There are, it is true, several schools of Socialism; but the differences between them, when closely examined, are found to be of no great importance. As a matter of fact, all Socialists are agreed on the main points, which are precisely those which anti-Socialists need concern themselves with. Every one of us—from the extremest Anarchist to the mildest Social-Democrat—condemn, for instance, rent, interest, and profit as iniquitous; we condemn the present competitive system as wasteful of human life and happiness; and we of course maintain that it is possible, were people to set their minds to it, to establish a social system which, while giving every individual his true and legitimate freedom, would obviate the evils of competition, prevent the present enormous waste of labour-force, and result in the equitable distribution of wealth, thereby giving us the material conditions of a full and happy life for everyone.

Let Professor Flint, then, consider the essential points of Socialism; and, since he is an anti-Socialist, let him take especial care to defend—which he did not attempt to do in his lectures—on both ethical and economical grounds, the confiscation by some men of the products of other men's labour under the name of rent, interest, and profit. This is at least one thing he must do, if he wishes to make out his case against Socialism and to avoid the appearance of desiring to evade the real issues.

By going out of the way to give, contrary to all the laws of logic, a perfectly arbitrary and quite unjustifiable definition of the term Socialism, one which cannot but tend to bring the doctrines we teach into disrepute, and rouse prejudice against them among the unthinking readers of his articles, Professor Flint sorely tempts us to regard him as an opponent lacking fairness and honourableness. Conscious that he is giving us good reason for displeasure and complaint, he endeavours to justify the course he takes, but, by virtue of his paltry and untenable excuses, unfortunately succeeds only in aggravating his offence. He begs us to observe carefully that he uses the word Socialism in a peculiar sense, and that he does not intend to reason from his "definition" as if it were absolutely true. He entitles his articles *Socialism*. May we ask whether he means to discourse on the anti-social doctrines which he chooses to regard as Socialism, or on the doctrines of "what avows itself to be and is generally called Socialism"? If the former, how can he possibly prevent ordinary mortals mistaking them for the latter? And if the latter, of what use is his "definition"? To determine, he gravely says, whether any Socialistic system ("so-called," he cautiously adds) is Socialistic or not. Ostensibly a harmless use, but in view of the purely subjective origin of the "definition," really a ludicrously improper one. The funny thing is, that if we ever succeed in converting Professor Flint—he still persisting in his method, which in spite of its pretensions is a most unscientific one, to say the least of it—he will inform us that we are not and never have been Socialists at all.

To conclude, however. Taken all in all, the learned Professor's article is quite a curiosity of anti-Socialist literature, and a wonderful product of the mysterious workings of the theological mind.

J. HALDANE SMITH.

Ill-gotten goods seldom prosper; or, as another puts it, There is no clear gain but in honest getting.

THE ORDER OF THE GALLOWS.

AT the beginning of the Christian era, the common method of executing criminals and malefactors was by crucifixion. The cross was to the Romans and the Jews of that time what the gallows is to the Christians of the nineteenth century, the instrument for carrying out the sternest decrees of the law; a symbol of infamy and shame. Crucifixion of a malefactor was supposed to cover his name for ever with ignominy. After the crucifixion of the reformer Jesus, his followers underwent dreadful persecutions. They were hunted like wild beasts from one country to another, forced to take refuge in caves, in mountain fastnesses, anywhere to escape their blood-thirsty tormentors. Partly to aid them in identifying one another, but chiefly from adoration of their prophet and master—the founder of their sect—the Christians made small crosses of wood, of bronze, of stone, any material that was found available for the purpose, and hung them about their necks. They made larger crosses and set them up in their secret meeting-places, and gathered together there, and worshipped Jehovah and him who had died to fulfil the law. As the centuries wore on, the cross became a mighty and potent emblem. Millions of people worshipped under its shade the being, now become a god, whose pure life and infamous death had glorified it. Long and dreadful wars were waged in its name, and in the name of the great reformer. To-day three hundred million people recognise in this emblem the grandest and holiest symbol in the world.

Three short years since, four other reformers were put to death by the State, their only crime a passionate hatred of injustice and an absorbing love for humanity. The Golgotha of this modern execution was Chicago, accused now for evermore. The instrument of death a gallows, used in this day of the Christian's Lord to strangle murderers. They died as did the martyrs of old, heroically, triumphantly, crying out their warnings of the wrath to come, pleading for the right of speech, shouting their devotion to their principles. The Cause for which they died grows and gathers volume with amazing swiftness. A few short years since its adherents were few in number. They suffered and still suffer persecution and ignominy. Soon it will number its devotees by the hundreds of thousands, and then by millions. Those who have been derided and maligned will be exalted. In a few years the gallows as an instrument of death will be known no more. That it may not be forgotten, or remembered only with shame and humiliation, let us preserve it as a memento of our time of travail and suffering. Coming millions of Socialists will require an emblem to perpetuate the memory of November 11, 1887. What emblem can be suggested more in keeping with the circumstances than the gallows? Let us then make gallows of available substances, and wear them upon our persons in commemoration of the murder of our martyrs. Not in a spirit of worship or adoration—those who come after us will require no gods—but as a badge of our fealty to the principles for which they died. Some of us here in Chicago have already taken the initiation, and wear as badges a miniature gallows with a noose hanging from the cross-beam. Comrades all over the world should do likewise. Let us wear these badges openly, so that the wearers may be known of men. Let them serve as an emblem of our devotion, and to bind us together more closely. Let those who wear this emblem be known to the world as a new Brotherhood—the Order of the Gallows.

WM. HOLMES.

Chicago, U.S.A.

FREE SPEECH IN REGENT'S PARK.

The park authorities have begun a very insidious attack on free speech in this park. During the last year they have gradually enclosed a large portion of the ground which up till now has been used for open-air meetings, on the pretext that the meetings prevent the grass from growing. The meetings are now restricted to a very small piece of land, where it is impossible they can be carried on properly; or else we can have a larger piece of ground which is a swamp the greater part of the year. Steps have recently been taken to resist these encroachments. Robert Harding has spoken on this enclosed land, and has been fined 5s. at the Marylebone Police-court. Pearson (Freedom Group) spoke there last Sunday, and had his name and address taken. A conference will shortly be held by members of the various bodies interested in the maintenance of free speech in this park. Members and friends are specially asked to turn up next Sunday.

A nod from a lord is a breakfast for a fool.

The pleasures of the mighty are the tears of the poor.

Who draws the sword against his prince must throw away the scabbard.

A man may lose his goods for want of demanding them.—Ray.—And also his rights.

"What is gotten over the devil's back is spent under his belly," i.e., what is got by extortion or oppression is lost by riot and luxury.

Dr. Johnson's improvise translation of a distich made on the Duke of Modena's running away from the comet in 1742 or '43—

"If at your coming princes disappear,
Comets, come every day—and stay a year!"

"If thou be hungry, I am angry, let us go fight. The belly hath no ears. "And," says Ray, "nothing makes the vulgar more untractable, fierce, and seditious than scarcity and hunger. There is some reason the belly should have no ears, words will not fill it."

"By a newly-invented machine," says the Portland *Argus*, "now in operation in the new mill at Manchester, N.H., one girl is able to sew on three thousand buttons a-day." And yet we'll wager that she doesn't get any higher pay for three thousand buttons than she used to get for three hundred. There's the whole labour problem in a nut-shell. Civilisation enormously multiplies the productive power of labour, but, somehow or other, the benefit of the increased production does not go to labour.—*Boston-Globe*.

Mr. Howells, in his new novel, "A Hazard of New Fortunes," which is full of radical utterances on the social question, forcibly says: "Not the most gifted man that ever lived in the practice of any art or science and paid at the highest rate that exceptional genius could justly demand from those who have worked for their money, could ever earn a million dollars. It is the landlord and the merchant princes, the railroad kings and the coal barons (the oppressors, whom you instinctively give the titles of tyrants)—it is these that make the millions; but no man earns them." Mr. Howells is wrong in his concluding phrase. Somebody does earn them. The working men and women of the country, many of whom exist in the most abject poverty and lack the bare necessities of life, they earn the millions which the millionaires steal from them.—*Journal of United Labour*.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

The Strike in the Boot Trade.

Despite the statements of the masters, who have not hesitated at what some rude people call "barefaced lying," there can be no question that they are already practically beaten. Every first-class firm has already given in, and it is only the sweating Jewish firms that are now resisting. Those who know these people, and how very truthful they are when a question of "bishness" is concerned, will be able to appreciate at their full value the various "statements" which have appeared on their behalf in the capitalist press. These sweaters have gone in for some cunning ruses. Although good business men, they are not remarkable for "backbone," being slippery and eel-like in their nature. They have sent work to Ipswich, but the union has stopped that little game by sending certain instructions to the local branch of the union. Another enterprising person sent work out in biscuit tins, but the pickets were on the alert and sent it back again. So their cunning has not met with its usual success.

On Thursday April 3rd the men marched in a huge procession from the East to the West End, through Ludgate Hill and Fleet Street, completely blocking the traffic in these crowded thoroughfares. The procession was accompanied by a brass band, and several large banners were carried by the strikers, bearing these inscriptions—"Down with Sweating," "Boot-finishers' Strike, 1890—We want the abolition of the Sweater," "United we stand, divided we fall." Other banners bore the names of the Lasters and Boot-finishers societies. Afterwards a large and enthusiastic meeting was held in Hyde Park, at which a resolution was carried pledging the men to remain out till the masters had conceded their demands.

About 2,000 members of the union received strike pay last Saturday; 700 of the Jewish workmen were paid on Friday. A ways and means committee has been formed to relieve non-union strikers. It is expected that the rest of the masters will give in soon after the holidays, as the busiest season in the boot trade is between Easter and Whitsuntide.

The demonstration on Sunday was a grand success. The procession was nearly a mile long. It was announced at the meeting that 192 masters had given way. A resolution was passed pledging the men to continue the struggle, and appealing to the public for sympathy and financial support.

What is "a Narrow Margin of Profit"?

Some little time ago, when Mr. Bradlaugh denounced Cunninghame Graham as a dangerous person in the House of Commons, he made some pathetic references to "the narrow margin of profit" of the poor capitalist, and he specially enquired what would become of the wretched people who had invested their money in Lancashire cotton factories if Mr. Graham succeeded in his attempts to make an eight hour labour day the law of the land. Owing to competition from India, Mr. Bradlaugh pointed out that the narrow margin of profit is narrower still in their case, and such an innovation would land them in hopeless bankruptcy. A correspondent of the *Labour Tribune* furnishes us with some figures concerning this "narrow margin" which makes Mr. Bradlaugh's pathos rather amusing. Here they are; they represent the dividends of some of the chief firms in Lancashire:

The Crawford Co., Rochdale,	10 per cent.	dividend.
„ Arkwright Co., Rochdale,	15 „ „	„
„ Thornham Co., Royton,	10½ „ „	„
„ Central Mill, Oldham,	10 „ „	„
„ Star Co., Royton,	10 „ „	„
„ Shaw Co.,	8½ „ „	„
„ United Co., Oldham,	10 „ „	„
„ Gladstone Co., Failsworth,	10 „ „	„

Here is a picture of misery to wring the heart of the stern Individualist, who can gaze unmoved on the sufferings of sweated workmen and starving outcasts, for he reflects that their misery is all their own fault, because they are lacking in "backbone." Why didn't they all start as popular "Freethought" orators, get into the House of Commons, and aspire to a seat on the Treasury Bench? Then if they made themselves generally useful as defenders of the rights of property, rich Liberal M.P.'s would send round the hat for them, so that they might continue their laudable exertions on behalf of the poor capitalist with his "narrow margin of profit." But if the unfortunate shareholders of the Lancashire cotton mills are to be pitted as reeling upon the verge of bankruptcy with a paltry 10 or 15 per cent. in their pockets, and as this is the narrowest of narrow margins, we should like to know what is Mr. Bradlaugh's notion of a "narrow margin"; 40 or 50 per cent.? If this is the case, we do not think that the Eight Hours Labour Day will send them all to the workhouse. And if it did so, we think we could bear it. Besides, it might have a good effect upon them; they would have a chance then, like Mark Tapley, of "coming out strong"—with a "backbone"!

The Lock-out of Bargemen and Brickmakers.

The masters still continue the lock-out, though there is intense suffering among the brickmakers. The strike has now lasted four weeks, and with every week the distress increases; hundreds of families have been deprived of their only means of subsistence through the cruelty of the masters. On Friday, April 5, a large demonstration was held, in which, probably for the first time in Kent, women took a prominent part. Several hundred women linked arm in arm, marched in procession in their holiday dress; the rest of the processionists, who were 5,000 strong, being bargemen and brickmakers, who were on terms of complete friendship despite the attempts of the masters to set the brickmakers against the bargemen by locking them out. A resolution was passed at the meeting that followed in favour of settling the dispute by arbitration.

Durham Miners.

The men are not satisfied with the 5 per cent. advance, and a large meeting has been held at Houghton-le-Spring, when nearly thirty collieries, employing 40,000 men, were represented, at which a resolution was unanimously passed demanding a further advance of 25 per cent. A resolution was also carried condemning the sanitary condition of many of the Durham mining villages and demanding better house accommodation. The sanitary condition of Durham mining villages is shameful. The men are forced to live in cottages which are as unhealthy and overcrowded as are many of the slums in our great towns. As many of these dens belong to mine-owners, a strike for better house accommodation would not be a bad move. N.

LITERARY NOTES.

'AN HONEST DOLLAR.' By E. Benjamin Andrews, president of Brown University. American Economic Association, November 1889. 50 pp. (vol. iv. No. 6. Baltimore: Guggenheimer, Weil, and Co.)

The rising portent in the ranks of the learned for a couple of decades back has been the surprising strength and activity developed by the new shrine of Minerva in the Maryland metropolis. Its present horrible tongue-twisting and jaw-breaking appellation makes it cavaire to the general, but it will doubtless eventually blossom into the sweet and sonorous style of "University of Baltimore." The earnest seeker after wisdom cares little for names, and many of the best brains of England, Germany, and France have already sought the banks of Chesapeake Bay for patronage and opportunity to develop their faculties. The ancient jogging Greco-Latin grinding-mills look on with dismay at the rise of this young rival. All knowledge is the field of Baltimore, and from its midst issues some of the best theses of modern research in social as well as natural science. This pamphlet of Mr. Andrews' is one of a valuable series, and is a good sample of the thoroughness in fashion at Baltimore. Not that the conclusions of the author are of any great value to the thoroughpaced social reformer. Far from it. It would be too much to expect a college president in these days of distorted shams to grasp the utter rottenness of our social foundation. But he honestly, if blindly, delves in the vast mazes of that important but misunderstood feature of the social problem, the Money Question. In his fifty pages he has gathered more important information than could often be gleaned from a whole library. The author struggles to find some universal scheme for keeping a stable unit of value, setting out with that proposition which every tyro appreciates, that a rise in value robs the creditor, while a fall robs the debtor. Mr. Andrews starts out with the proviso that "were money merely a medium of exchange, something to be spoken into being for each act of traffic and then annihilated, permanence in its worth could be dispensed with." He fails to see that this gives away the whole case. True money must always be worthless in itself. If it is given a value, its possessor has power of his fellow man, for such fictitious value is only kept up by the use of force. Hence come the power of the usurer, the profit-monger, and the rack-renting landlord. Mr. Andrews is at the head of the modern starched and iron-out Baptists' seat of learning. The proletarian predecessors of his sect, the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century, who stood against the rights of "property" in human labour from one end of Europe to the other, could teach our modern professor lessons in social truth.

HINTS TO HELPERS.

Of course you buy the 'Weal yourself, and pay for it; but you can also occasionally buy two copies and give one to a friend, or leave it in some public place.

If you get it from a newsagent, you can ask him to show it in his window or to display a contents-bill outside his shop.

You can have six sample copies sent post free to six different people for 7d., or three consecutive numbers to the same address for 4d.

You can ask your friends if they have seen it, and talk of what it contains.

You can send a copy for review to your local paper and in many other ways try to increase its publicity.

Above all, read it and get others to do so.

MEN have fought and prayed

As with one breath: their energies they've spent
In brutalising wars, where hellish strife
Could prompt each man to seek a brother's life.

Called civilised! far better had ye been
Like beasts that perish; then ye would have lived
And roved in harmony through wood and glen;
Nor would ye for the future then have grieved:
Or had ye fought, it would have been for food,
And not for creeds ye never understood.—*Prize Poem.*

Need hath no law.

They that are bound must obey.

If everyone mend one, all shall be mended.

As good play for nought as work for nought.

"Trade is the mother of money," says the merchant,—but Labour is its begetter.

Patience with poverty is all a poor man's remedy; but another says, Patience is a medicine for a mad dog.

Although we have nominally got rid of child sacrifice, children are as regularly and as ruthlessly sacrificed to Mammon as they were in the heathen past. Under our industrial system they have to pass through the fire to Moloch now as formerly.—*Journal of the Knights of Labour.*

Cours Weavers Strike Fund.—Already acknowledged:—£6 18s. 4d. D'Arcy W. Reeve, £10.

COURS FUND.—Comrade William Thompson, in sending his subscription, wrote as follows: I wish to subscribe to the English fund for the blanket-weavers' (Cours) strike, because I think it is so very important that workers in different countries should unite and make common cause. In one way it almost seems as if, in such matters, he gives twice who sends to another country. Of course, that theory might be carried too far; but I do think that it matters that these poor people at Cours, for instance, should know that it is not only their near neighbours, but also some foreigners, whom they know nothing of, who sympathise with them, and that they should feel that in fighting their own battle they are fighting the battle of workers everywhere.

To Help the Paper.—There are several ways in which you can help to spread the 'Weal. Ask your newsagent to try and sell it. Get those who don't care to buy it week by week to subscribe direct. Arrange for the posting of contents bills anywhere you can. Any number of other plans will suggest themselves if you think about it.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 24, GREAT QUEEN ST., LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, and Yarmouth, to end of May. East London, to end of October. Mitcham, to end of November. St. Georges East, to end of December.

1890:—Manchester, to end of January. 'Commonweal' Branch, Leicester, and North London, to end of February. North Kensington, to end of April. Streatham, to end of December.

Propaganda Committee.—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, April 15, at 8.30 p.m. Special meeting; important business; all members of the League interested in the propaganda invited to attend.

Notice.—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.
FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

REPORTS.

EAST LONDON.—We held no meeting in Victoria Park owing to the demonstrations, but comrades turned up well to push literature, of which a considerable quantity was sold, including 30 *Weals*, 12 *Freedom*s, and 36 pamphlets.—McK.

NORTH KENSINGTON.—We held a good meeting at Latimer Road; speakers were Crouch, R. J. Lyne, and Mrs. Edwards; 12 *Weals* sold. In Hyde Park at 3.30, we also had a good meeting; speakers were R. J. Lyne, Crouch, Saint, and Davis; 2s. 11d. collected, and 29 *Weals* sold. We held a social evening at 8 p.m. in our rooms, Tochat in the chair; Crouch gave us "The Landlord's Prayer," followed by songs, assisted by members of the Hammersmith choir; R. J. Lyne gave a short speech on the work of the branch in the neighbourhood, followed by other songs and short speeches from Coulon (of Paris), Saint, and Maughan, altogether we spent a very enjoyable evening; 11 *Commonweal* sold, and 4s. 14d. collected.

ABERDEEN.—At meeting on 6th comrade U. Cooper (Woodside) lectured on "Wasted Energy" to a still larger audience than the one of last week. A lively discussion was carried on at close of lecture.—L.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday, Joe Burgoyne and Glasier addressed a meeting on Jail Square, quite a number of the audience expressing their intention of becoming members of the League. At 5 o'clock, Tim Burgoyne addressed a good audience at Paisley Road Toll. In the evening a business meeting was held, when the branch resolved to contribute 5s. weekly to the support of *Commonweal*.

LEEDS.—On Sunday morning a good meeting held at Vicars Croft, addressed by Paylor and Samuels. In the afternoon another good meeting held, when Samuels debated Socialism with a Mr. Crewe. The discussion was lively and amusing. *Commonweal* sold out.

MANCHESTER.—We have held some good outdoor meetings here of late. On Monday 31st March Edward Carpenter lectured at the Club on "The present and Future Society." Meetings were held on Sunday at Philips Park and Stevenson Square—speakers Stockton, Barton, and W. K. Hall of Salford. In the evening, at the Club, W. K. Hall spoke on "Politics for Working Men." A good discussion followed; 2s. 9d. collected.

NORWICH.—Easter Sunday comrades Mowbray (London) and Darley addressed a large meeting in the afternoon. In the evening, a good open-air meeting held, when Mowbray took for his subject "Socialism v. Christianity." Large sale of *Commonweal*; good collections at both meetings. Monday morning Mowbray spoke at a large meeting convened by the local trade society of riveters and finishers, in support of the strike in London. A call for our comrade was made by the audience, notwithstanding the fact that the chairman, a so-called local Radical, Mr. Burgess, did not make any response to the call, but very coolly left the chair, followed by the society's leading lights, and leaving the platform to our comrade, who received an enthusiastic greeting and was given an attentive hearing.

YARMOUTH.—On Easter Sunday, in the morning, a large demonstration on Priory Plain, addressed by C. W. Mowbray (of London) on "Socialism v. Strikes." Mowbray was assisted by C. Kitchen of Hammersmith Branch S. L. A kind Christian lady asked Mowbray "why he didn't go to church?" and said it was people like Mowbray who were causing the discontent and strikes in the country. In the evening, on Colman's Granary Quay, comrade Kitchen addressed an attentive and large audience on "Socialism v. Class Monopoly." He was listened to with marked attention. Comrade Ruffold also spoke. On Monday, in the afternoon in the Market Place, the meeting was opened by Ruffold, followed by Mowbray with an address on "Socialism v. Political Action." 4s. 1d. collected; all the *Commonweal* sold, and good sale of literature.—J. H.

EDINBURGH—SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION.—Dempster of Alyth lectured to good audiences in the Meadows and in the Hall on "Socialism." He dealt with the land question, and palliative measures generally. In the hall, many questions were asked and answered, and a lively discussion ensued.

EDINBURGH—SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION.—Discussion of Fabian Essays Tuesday at 8 p.m., at 35 George IV. Bridge.

NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.—All communications to be addressed to the Secretary, A. Clifton, 11 Hawksworth Street, Clarence Street.

CHELSEA S.D.F., Co-operative Lecture Hall, 312 Kings Road, Chelsea.—Sunday April 13, at 8 p.m., G. Clifton, "Socialism and the Individual."

CLUB AUTONOME, 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.—Sunday April 13, at 8.30, Tom Pearson, "Communism v. Individualism."

ST. CLEMENT'S CLUB, 84 Ironmonger Row, E.C.—M. W. F. Crowther (G.S.M.), "Clap-trap and its Influence." Sunday 13th, at 8.45.

NEW MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE, "Three Doves," Berwick St., Soho, W.—Sunday April 13, at 7 p.m., Open-air meeting, Broad Street; 8 p.m., Committee meeting; 8.30, Address by J. D. Bouran, "Co-operation."

LIVERPOOL SOCIALIST SOCIETY.—On Sunday, April 13, William Morris will deliver two lectures in the Rodney Hall—subjects: 3 o'clock, "Development of Modern Society"; 7 o'clock, "The Social Outlook."

YARMOUTH.—Suitable premises have now been secured for the Socialist League Club at 56 Row, Market Place. Amongst its attractions will be a library, reading, boxing, and refreshment rooms. Friends who can assist, either with furniture, fittings, books, or funds, are earnestly invited to do so. The club is open every evening for members. *Commonweal* and Socialist League literature on sale.

INTERNATIONAL OR REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.—As the study of Socialism from a revolutionary or international standpoint is absolutely necessary, it is intended by several friends to form a branch of the League. I have therefore to ask all those who are willing to join in forming such branch, and who are willing to help in propagating the principles of true Socialism, to communicate with me as early as possible.—J. SKETCHLEY, 165 Gibraltar Street, Sheffield.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Battersea.—All communications to E. Buteux, 45, Inwith Street, Battersea Park Road.

Commonweal Branch.—24 Great Queen Street, Holborn, W.C. Business meeting of members every Thursday evening at 8; Discussion Class at 9. Hall open every evening from 7 till 10. Sunday April 13, at 8 p.m., Hubert Bland; "How the Money Goes."

East London.—All branch communications to be addressed to H. McKenzie, 12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday April 13, at 8 p.m., a Lecture. French Class conducted by Mlle. Desroches on Friday evenings at 7.30.

Mitcham.—"Lord Napier," Fair Green. Meets every Sunday at 12.30, to enroll members, etc.

North Kensington.—Clarendon Coffee Palace, Clarendon Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. On Sunday April 13, at 8 p.m., a Discussion.

North London.—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road. Meets every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock.

Streatham.—Address secretary, R. Smith, 1 Natal Road, Streatham.

Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Hall, 9 Harriet Street, on Sunday evenings at 6.30. Singing practice, etc., in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, Mondays at 8 p.m.

Bradford.—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Meets every Tuesday at 7.30.

Glasgow.—Rams' Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock. Members in arrears are earnestly requested to pay the contributions at once.

Halifax.—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.

Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road, School Close. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Exchange Buildings, Rutland Street. Branch meets on Monday and Thursday, at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—Socialist League Club, 60 Grosvenor Street, All Saints. Open every evening. The Quarterly Meeting of the Branch will be held at the Club on Monday 14th inst., at 8 p.m. prompt. All members requested to attend.

Norwich.—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Thursday, at 8, Discussion Class. Saturday, Social Meeting. Hall open every evening from 8 p.m.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

Walsall.—Socialist Club, 18 Goodall Street, Walsall. Meetings every night.

Yarmouth.—Socialist League Club, 56 Row, Market Place. Open every evening. Business Meeting Tuesdays at 8 p.m. Elocution Class Friday at 8.30 p.m. Discussion Class Sunday 3 p.m.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible to help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 12.

7 Hyde Park Nicoll and Cantwell
8.30..... Mile-end Waste..... The Branch

SUNDAY 13.

11 Latimer Road Station North Kensington Branch
11.30..... Hammersmith Bridge Hammersmith Branch
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane Mainwaring
11.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green Kitz
11.30..... Regent's Park Nicoll
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch North Kensington Branch
3.30..... Victoria Park East London Branch
7 Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park Hammersmith Branch
7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church Hammersmith Branch
8 Streatham Fountain Kitz

TUESDAY 15.

8 Walham Green—back of Church Hammersmith Branch

THURSDAY 17.

8.15..... Hoxton Church Kitz and Davis

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock. Tuesday: Cathedral Square, at 8 p.m.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

Liverpool.—Landing-stage, Sundays at 11.30.

Manchester.—Sunday: Philips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3.

Norwich.—Sunday: St. Faiths, at 11; Market Place, at 3.

Sheffield.—Sunday: Monolith, Fargate, at 11.30 a.m.; Burngreave Road, near Vestry Offices, at 3 p.m.; Pump, West Bar, at 8 p.m.

Yarmouth.—Sunday: Priory Plain, at 11; Bradwell, 11.30; Colman's Granary Quay, at 7.

There are but two possible solutions of the labour problem, either capital must own the labour or labour must own the capital. The first means chattel slavery; the second national co-operation. All attempts to settle the question which include the retention of the competitive system must, in the very nature of things, fail. The new wine cannot be kept in old bottles. The world must either advance into nationalism or recede into slavery.—*Journal of United Labour.*

"The labour problem," as understood by a good many magazinites, amateur political economists and dabblers in social science, is how to better the condition of the worker without interfering with the "rights" of the capitalist. No wonder many of them give it up in despair and declare it to be insoluble. It can't be done any more than you could protect society from burglars without interfering with the "right" of the burglar to get his living by plunder.—*Journal of United Labour.*

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STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES.

THE Socialist League advocates International Revolutionary Socialism. That is to say the destruction of the present class society, which consists of one class who live by owning property and therefore *need not work*, and of another that has no property and therefore *must work* in order that they may live to keep the idlers by their labour. Revolutionary Socialism insists that this system of society, which is the modern form of slavery, should be changed to a system of Society which would give every man an opportunity of doing useful work, and not allow any man to live without so doing, which work could not be useful unless it were done for the whole body of workers instead of for do-nothing individuals. The result of this would be that livelihood would not be precarious nor labour burdensome. Labour would be employed in co-operation, and the struggle of man with man for bare subsistence would be supplanted by harmonious combination for the production of common wealth and the exchange of mutual services without the waste of labour or material.

Every man's needs would be satisfied from this common stock, but no man would be allowed to own anything which he could not use, and which consequently he must *abuse* by employing it as an instrument for forcing others to labour for him unpaid. Thus the land, the capital, machinery, and means of transit would cease to be private property, since they can only be *used* by the combination of labour to produce wealth.

Thus men would be *free* because they would no longer be dependent on idle property-owners for subsistence; thus they would be *brothers*, for the cause of strife, the struggle for subsistence at other people's expense, would have come to an end. Thus they would be *equal*, for if all men were doing useful work no man's labour could be dispensed with. Thus the motto of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality, which is but an empty boast in a society that upholds the monopoly of the means of production, would at last be realised.

This Revolutionary Socialism must be International. The change which would put an end to the struggle between man and man, would destroy it also between nation and nation. One harmonious system of federation throughout the whole of civilisation would take the place of the old destructive rivalries. There would be no great centres breeding race hatred and commercial jealousy, but people would manage their own affairs in communities not too large to prevent all citizens from taking a part in the administration necessary for the conduct of life, so that party politics would come to an end.

Thus, while we abide by the old motto

Liberty, Fraternity, Equality,

we say that the existence of private property destroys Equality, and therefore under it there can be neither Liberty nor Fraternity.

We add to the first motto then this other one—

FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS CAPACITY, TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS NEEDS.

When this is realised there will be a genuine Society; until it is realised, Society is nothing but a band of robbers. We must add that this change can only be brought about by combination amongst the workers themselves, and must embrace the whole of Society. The new life cannot be *given* to the workers by a class higher than they, but must be *taken* by them by means of the abolition of classes and the reorganisation of Society.

COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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